Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

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PAGE 01 STATE 178389
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SUBJECT: US POSITION ON ZIONISM-RACISM QUESTION

REFERENCE: CONAKRY 1284

1. YOU MAY USE FOLLOWING MATERIAL AS BASIS FOR AIDE MEMOIRE WHICH DIALLO REQUESTED ON ZIONISM-RACISM.

2. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED: IN DECEMBER 1973 THE UNGA, BY RESOLUTION 3057 (XXVIII), LAUNCHED THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. ANNEXED TO RESOLUTION 3057, WHICH WAS ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY, WAS A PRO-
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 178389

GRAM FOR THE DECADE. UNDER THIS PROGRAM A MAJOR FEATURE OF THE DECADE IS TO BE A WORLD CONFERENCE ON COMBATTING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. THE US STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE CONCEPT OF THE DECADE AND ORIGINALLY INTENDED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE 1978 CONFERENCE.

3. HOWEVER, ON NOVEMBER 10, 1975 THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADOPTED RESOLUTION 3379 (XX;) CONTAINING A SINGLE OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH WHICH DETERMINED "THAT ZIONISM IS A FORM OF RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION." THIS RESOLUTION WAS

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

CONSIDERED AND ADOPTED DURING THE ASSEMBLY'S ANNUAL REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS RELATING TO THE DECADE. THE VOTE WAS 72-35(US), WITH 32 ABSTENTIONS. DURING THE ORIGINAL DEBATE

IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE WHICH PRECEDED CONSIDERATION IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE US DELEGATE SAID: "UNDER THE GUISE OF A PROGRAM TO ELIMINATE RACISM THE UNITED NATIONS IS AT THE POINT OF OFFICIALLY ENDORSING ANTI-SEMITISM, ONE OF THE OLDEST AND MOST VIRULENT FORMS OF RACISM KNOWN TO HUMAN HISTORY. THIS DRAFT EXPLICITLY ENCOURAGES THE RACISM KNOWN AS ANTI-SEMITISM EVEN AS IT WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE THAT ITS WORDS WILL LEAD TO THE ELIMINATION OF RACISM ... ITS ADOPTION WOULD BRING TO AN END OUR ABILITY TO COOPERATE ON ELIMINATING RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AS PART OF THE OFFICIAL WORK OF THE DECADE." SUBSEQUENTLY, WHEN THE THIRD COMMITTEE ADOPTED THIS RESOLUTION, SERIOUSLY COMPROMISING THE DECADE, AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN CONDEMNED "THE RECKLESSNESS OF EQUATING THE HONORABLE AND NECESSARY CONCERN ABOUT RACISM IN PARTS OF AFRICA, OR ANYWHERE, WITH THIS MEASURE, TURNING WHAT HAS BEEN A MORAL CONCERN THAT COMMANDED RESPECT ALMOST ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD INTO AN EPITHET TO BE THROWN INDISCRIMINATELY AT ANYONE YOU DO NOT LIKE."
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 178389

4. ON OCTOBER 24, 1975 PRESIDENT FORD SAID: "WE DEPLORE IN THE STRONGEST TERMS THE RECENT VOTE IN THE SOCIAL COMMITTEE CHARACTERIZING ZIONISM AS A FORM OF RACISM. SUCH ACTION UNDERMINES THE PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS IS BASED. THE SPOKESMEN FOR THE UNITED STATES IN THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE EXPRESSED FORCEFULLY THE VIEW OF THIS ADMINISTRATION AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON THIS ISSUE."

5. ON NOVEMBER 11, 1975, THE DAY AFTER THE ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION 3379, THE SPOKESMAN FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE SAID THAT "WE WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN ANY WAY IN THE OBSERVANCE OF THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION." ON THE SAME DAY, EACH HOUSE OF THE US CONGRESS, IN SEPARATE RESOLUTIONS, RESOLVED THAT "IT STRONGLY OPPOSES ANY FORM OF PARTICIPATION BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION SO LONG AS THAT DECADE AND PROGRAM REMAIN DISTORTED AND COMPROMISED BY THE AFOREMENTIONED RESOLUTION MAKING ZIONISM AS ONE OF THE TARGETS OF THAT STRUGGLE." CONSISTENT WITH THIS POLICY, THE US HAS NOT PARTICIPATED IN DISCUSSIONS OR VOTES ON DECADE MATTERS IN UN BODIES, NOR DOES IT SUBMIT THE REPORTS CALLED FOR UNDER THE DECADE PROGRAM.

6. THE MOST ELOQUENT DESCRIPTION OF RATIONALE FOR US OBJECTION TO Z-R RESOLUTION IS QUOTED BELOW IN EXCERPTS FROM AMB. MOYNIHAN'S NOV. 10 ADDRESS: "WHAT WE HAVE HERE

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

IS A LIE -- A POLITICAL LIE OF A VARIETY WELL KNOWN TO THE

TWENTIETH CENTURY, AND SCARCELY EXCEEDED IN ALL THAT ANNAL OF UNTRUTH AND OUTRAGE. THE LIE IS THAT ZIONISM IS A FORM OF RACISM. THE OVERWHELMINGLY CLEAR TRUTH IS THAT IT IS NOT.

"THE WORD 'RACISM' IS A CREATION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE,
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 178389

AND RELATIVELY NEW TO IT. IT IS NOT, FOR INSTANCE, TO BE FOUND IN THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY. THE TERM DERIVES FROM RELATIVELY NEW DOCTRINES -- ALL OF THEM DISCREDITED -- CONCERNING THE HUMAN POPULATION OF THE WORLD, TO THE EFFECT THAT THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT BIOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES AMONG CLEARLY IDENTIFIABLE GROUPS, AND THAT THESE DIFFERENCES ESTABLISH, IN EFFECT, DIFFERENT LEVELS OF HUMANITY. RACISM, AS DEFINED BY WEBSTER'S THIRD NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY, IS 'THE ASSUMPTION THAT...TRAITS AND CAPACITIES ARE DETERMINED BY BIOLOGICAL RACE AND THAT RACES DIFFER DECISIVELY FROM ONE ANOTHER.' IT FURTHER INVOLVES 'A BE-LIEF IN THE INHERENT SUPERIORITY OF A PARTICULAR RACE AND ITS RIGHT TO DOMINATION OVER OTHERS.'

"THIS MEANING IS CLEAR. IT IS EQUALLY CLEAR THAT THIS AS-SUMPTION, THIS BELIEF, HAS ALWAYS BEEN ALTOGETHER ALIEN TO THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT KNOWN AS ZIONISM. AS A STRICTLY POLITICAL MOVEMENT, ZIONISM WAS ESTABLISHED ONLY IN 1897, ALTHOUGH THERE IS A CLEARLY LEGITIMATE SENSE IN WHICH ITS ORIGINS ARE INDEED ANCIENT. FOR EXAMPLE, MANY BRANCHES OF CHRISTIANITY HAVE ALWAYS HELD THAT FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE BIBLICAL PROPHETS, ISRAEL WOULD BE REBORN ONE DAY. BUT THE MODERN ZIONIST MOVEMENT AROSE IN EUROPE IN THE CONTEXT OF A GENERAL UPSURGE OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND ASPIRATION THAT OVERTOOK MOST OTHER PEOPLE OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AFTER 1848, AND THAT IN TIME SPREAD TO ALL OF AFRICA AND ASIA. IT WAS, TO THOSE PERSONS OF THE JEWISH RELIGION, A JEWISH FORM OF WHAT TODAY IS CALLED A NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT. PRO-BABLY A MAJORITY OF THOSE PERSONS WHO BECAME ACTIVE ZIONISTS AND SOUGHT TO EMIGRATE TO PALESTINE WERE BORN WITHIN THE CONFINES OF CZARIST RUSSIA, AND IT WAS ONLY NATURAL FOR SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI GROMYKO TO DE-
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 178389

PLORE, AS HE DID IN 1948, IN THE 299TH MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE ACT BY ISRAEL'S NEIGHBORS OF 'SENDING THEIR TROOPS INTO PALESTINE AND CARRYING OUT MILITARY OPERATIONS AIMED' -- IN MR. GROMYKO'S WORDS -- 'AT THE SUPPRESSION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

PALESTINE.'

"NOW IT WAS THE SINGULAR NATURE -- IF I AM NOT MISTAKEN, IT WAS THE UNIQUE NATURE -- OF THIS NATIONAL LIBERATION

THAT IN CONTRAST WITH THE MOVEMENTS THAT PRECEDED IT, THOSE OF THAT TIME AND THOSE THAT HAVE COME SINCE, IT DEFINED ITS MEMBERS IN TERMS NOT OF BIRTH, BUT OF BELIEF. THAT IS TO SAY, IT WAS NOT A MOVEMENT OF THE IRISH TO FREE IRELAND, OR OF THE POLISH TO FREE POLAND, NOT A MOVEMENT OF ALGERIANS TO FREE ALGERIA, NOR OF INDIANS TO FREE INDIA. IT WAS NOT A MOVEMENT OF PERSONS CONNECTED BY HISTORIC MEMBERSHIP IN A GENETIC POOL OF THE KIND THAT ENABLES US TO SPEAK LOOSELY BUT NOT MEANINGLESSLY, SAY, OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE, NOR YET OF DIVERSE GROUPS OCCUPYING THE SAME TERRITORY WHICH ENABLES US TO SPEAK OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WITH NO GREATER INDIGNITY TO TRUTH. TO THE CONTRARY, ZIONISTS DEFINED THEMSELVES MERELY AS JEWS, AND DECLARED TO BE JEWISH ANYONE BORN OF A JEWISH MOTHER OR -- AND THIS IS THE ABSOLUTELY CRUCIAL FACT -- ANYONE WHO CONVERTED TO JUDAISM. WHICH IS TO SAY, IN THE TERMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, ADOPTED BY THE 20TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY, ANYONE -- REGARDLESS OF 'RACE, COLOUR, DESCENT, OR NATIONAL OR ETHNIC ORIGIN....'

"THE STATE OF ISRAEL, WHICH IN TIME WAS THE CREATION OF THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT, HAS BEEN EXTRAORDINARY IN NOTHING SO MUCH AS THE RANGE OF 'RACIAL STOCKS' FROM WHICH IT HAS DRAWN ITS CITIZENRY. THERE ARE BLACK JEWS, BROWN JEWS, WHITE JEWS, JEWS FROM THE ORIENT AND JEWS FROM THE WEST. MOST SUCH

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 178389

PERSONS COULD BE SAID TO HAVE BEEN 'BORN' JEWS, JUST AS MOST PRESBYTERIANS AND MOST HINDUS ARE 'BORN' TO THEIR FAITH, BUT THERE ARE MANY JEWS WHO ARE CONVERTS. WITH A CONSISTENCY IN THE MATTER WHICH SURELY ATTESTS TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS ISSUE TO THAT RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL CULTURE, ISRAELI COURTS HAVE HELD THAT A JEW WHO CONVERTS TO ANOTHER RELIGION IS NO LONGER A JEW. IN THE MEANTIME THE POPULATION OF ISRAEL ALSO INCLUDES LARGE NUMBERS OF NON-JEWS, AMONG THEM ARABS OF BOTH THE MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS AND CHRISTIANS OF OTHER NATIONAL ORIGINS. MANY OF THESE PERSONS ARE CITIZENS OF ISRAEL, AND THOSE WHO ARE NOT CAN BECOME CITIZENS BY LEGAL PROCEDURES VERY MUCH LIKE THOSE WHICH OBTAIN IN A TYPICAL NATION OF WESTERN EUROPE.

"NOW I SHOULD WISH TO BE UNDERSTOOD THAT I AM HERE MAKING ONE POINT, AND ONE POINT ONLY, WHICH IS THAT WHATEVER ELSE ZIONISM MAY BE, IT IS NOT AND CANNOT BE 'A FORM OF RACISM.' IN LOGIC, THE STATE OF ISRAEL COULD BE, OR COULD BECOME,

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

MANY THINGS, THEORETICALLY INCLUDING MANY THINGS UNDESIR-
ABLE, BUT IT COULD NOT BE AND COULD NOT BECOME RACIST
UNLESS IT CEASED TO BE ZIONIST.

INDEED, THE IDEA THAT JEWS ARE A 'RACE' WAS INVENTED NOT
BY JEWS BUT BY THOSE WHO HATED JEWS. THE IDEA OF JEWS
AS A RACE WAS INVENTED BY NINETEENTH CENTURY ANTI-SEMITES
SUCH AS HOUSTON STEWARD CHAMBERLAIN AND EDOUARD DRUMONT,
WHO SAW THAT IN AN INCREASINGLY SECULAR AGE, WHICH IS TO
SAY AN AGE WHICH MADE FOR FEWER DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN
PEOPLE, THE OLD RELIGIOUS GROUNDS FOR ANTI-SEMITISM WERE
LOSING FORCE. NEW JUSTIFICATIONS WERE NEEDED FOR EXCLUDING
AND PERSECUTING JEWS, AND SO THE NEW IDEA OF JEWS AS A
RACE -- RATHER THAN AS A RELIGION -- WAS BORN. IT WAS A
UNCLASSIFIED

CONTEMPTIBLE IDEA AT THE BEGINNING, AND NO CIVILIZED PERSON
WOULD BE ASSOCIATED WITH IT. TO THINK THAT IT IS AN IDEA
NOW ENDORSED BY THE UNITED NATIONS IS TO REFLECT ON WHAT
CIVILIZATION HAS COME TO."

7. ZIONISM/RACISM (Z/R). THE DAKAR ISLAMIC FOREIGN
MINISTERS' CONFERENCE IN APRIL AND THE NACB BOTH REAFFIRMED
THE LINKAGE BETWEEN ZIONISM AND RACISM, THE FIRST SUCH RE-
AFFIRMATION IN TWO YEARS. THESE MOVES WERE CLOSELY TIED IN
WITH "STEADFAST" ARAB DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO ISOLATE AND
DISCREDIT SUPPORTERS OF THE SADAT PEACE INITIATIVE AND ARE
LIKELY TO BE PRESSED AGAIN AT BELGRADE AS PART OF THE
LARGER ATTACK ON ISRAEL. WE ARE DISMAYED AT THE REAFFIRMA-
TION OF THIS ABHORRENT 1975 UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION
(3379) AND FULLY EXPECT THAT, IF CARRIED OVER INTO THE
WORLD CONFERENCE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
(GENEVA, AUGUST 1978) AND THE 33RD GENERAL ASSEMBLY
(SEPTEMBER), IT WILL HAVE A SEVERE EFFECT ON US PUBLIC
CONFIDENCE IN THE UN. THE KEY TO WHETHER IT WILL CARRY
OVER LIES WITH THE AFRICANS, WHO HAVE HITHERTO REGARDED
Z/R AS AN UNHELPFUL DIVERSION FROM THE UN'S ANTI-APARTHEID
EFFORTS AND OPPOSED REAFFIRMATION. HOWEVER, THE AFRICANS
ARE ANGERED BY OUR REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORLD
CONFERENCE (BECAUSE, IN OUR VIEW, IT IS TAINTED BY ASSOCIA-
TION WITH RESOLUTION 3379), AND MAY NO LONGER OPPOSE THE
ARABS ON REAFFIRMATION. THE BELGRADE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE
OMITS ANY REFERENCE TO Z/R BUT THIS IS NO INDICATION OF
ARAB AND AFRICAN INTENTIONS.

8. YOU MAY WISH TO DRAW UPON THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS
IN YOUR PRESENTATION TO DIALLO:

-- IN OUR OPINION, RESOLUTION 3379 IS AN ABHORRENT AND
TENDENTIOUS POLITICAL WEAPON WITH NO SUBSTANTIVE MERIT AND
WITH GREAT DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL. WE TOTALLY REJECT IT
BOTH ON SUBSTANTIVE GROUNDS AND ON THE GROUNDS OF THE

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

DAMAGE IT CAN DO TO PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE UN.

-- ATTEMPTS TO REAFFIRM THE RESOLUTION AT THIS TIME ARE PART OF A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN WITH FAR-REACHING CONSEQUENCES FOR PEACE EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IF THEY SUCCEED, THEY CAN ONLY ENGENDER A DEEP AND HOSTILE PUBLIC REACTION WHICH WILL HARDEN OFFICIAL POSITIONS, REDUCE ROOM FOR MANEUVER AND, THUS, COMPLICATE PEACE EFFORTS.

-- WE HOPE THAT HOST GOVERNMENTS WHICH SUPPORT THESE PEACE EFFORTS WILL THINK OF THE EFFECT ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION AS A WHOLE WHEN CONSIDERING THEIR POSITIONS ON ANY EFFORT TO REVIVE Z/R AT BELGRADE.

-- THEY SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER THAT REAFFIRMATION AT BELGRADE WILL GIVE ADDED IMPETUS TO Z/R AT THE WORLD CONFERENCE AND IN THE UN. REAFFIRMATION THERE WILL SERIOUSLY ERODE THE CREDIBILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UN'S ANTI-APARTHEID EFFORTS IN KEY WESTERN COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS OF THE INTEGRITY OF THE UN.

-- THIS ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION AS A VERY STRONG SUPPORTER OF THE UN WILL BE MADE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT BY REAFFIRMATION OF Z/R IN THE UN.

CHRISTOPHER

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Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

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20 Mar 2014
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